IN SENATE .- AUGUST 1, 1848.

EXPLORATION OF OREGON AND CALIFORNIA.

Mr. BREESE, from the Select Committee to which the subject was referred, made the following Reprt: The select committee to whom was referred the resolution of the Senate to inquire into the expediency of providing for the publication of the results of the late exploring expedient of J. C. FREMONT to California and Oregon, to be publised as a national work, free from copy-right and subject to he disposition of Congress; and also to inquire into the erediency of providing for the continuation and completion of he surveys and exploration of the said J. C. Fremont, with a view to develop the geographical character of the count, and the practicability of establishing railroad or other comm nications between the valley of the Mississippi and the Pacisc ocean, the results of said further surveys and explorations be also published as a national work, free from copy-right and subject to the disposition of Congress, respectfully ask leave o

That it is a matter of great public interest, the commit That it is a matter of great public interest, the committee believe, for the Government and for the people of the Unitel States, to become accurately acquainted with the value of the large possessions now belonging to the United States beyond the Rocky Mountains, and also with the means of commun-cating with those possessions and with the Pacific ocean, on which they border, by railroads or other modes of travel and conveyance; and the committee believe, from the knowledge they have of the inclination of Mr. Fremont's mind, his hathey have of the inclination of Mr. Fremont's mind, his bits and pursuits, and his already great acquaintance with the countries in question, acquired through extraordinary pers-verance, to be peculiarly well fitted to give to the Government and to the people the information it is so desirable for them to possess in relation to the value of California and d the means of communicating with them. From the early age of seventeen, as the committee are

formed, Mr. Fremont has been almost constantly engaged in astronomical and geographical pursuits, and nearly the whole time in the open field, and the last six years in the country be-yond the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. He has made three expeditions to those remote and interesting regions. alts of the two first were published by order of Con gress, and commanded general appliance both in this country and in Europe. The celebrated Baron Humboldt, and the President of the Royal Geological and Royal Geographical So-cieties, London, have spoken of them in most favorable terms, and eminent scientific men and journals of our own country have yielded equal commendation. [See appendix to this report.] An assistant of the celebrated Nicollet, who was a distinguished member of the French National Institute, he has reached a most commanding position as a scientific ex-plorer, and achieved for himself the designation of the Ameri-

The first question with the committee was to inquire into the expediency of publishing, as a national work, free of copyright, and subject to the disposition of Congress, the results of this last or third expedition of Mr. Fremont; and, although favorably impressed with the value of these results from the previous labors and character of the author, it was deemed pro-per to inquire into the real character of the proposed publicaready at hand in the manuscript map of Oregon and California, (now in the hands of the lithographer, and which personally the committee have examined,) and also in the geographially the committee nave examines, published by order of the cal memoir to illustrate that map, published by order of the Senate, and which, it is presumed, all have read. This map Senate, and which, it is presumed, all have read. This map and memoir, in the judgment of the committee, not only sus-tain the previous reputation of the author, but enhance it, as might well be expected from a more ripened intellect, from a more experienced explorer, and from a spirit ardent in the pursuit of science, and excited by applause to higher exertions. This map and memoir, though hastily prepared, and as a mere preliminary to a full work, increase the reputation of their author, and give valuable information to the statesman and to the farmer, to the astronomer and geographer, to the man of science in the walks of botany and meteorology. But they must be regarded only as a sample of the results of that expethe view of which the value of the whole may be judged. As far as the exploration has been carried, every thing necessary to show climate, soil, and productions has been collected. More than one thousand specimens in botany, a great number in geology and mineralogy, with drawings of birds and animals and remarkable scenery, and a large collection of the skins of birds, with the plumage preserved, have been, as the committee are informed, brought home to enrich the stores and add to the sum of human knowledge. The bo-tanical specimens, examined by Dr. Torrey, are deemed by him of great value, and worthy of the expense of European en graving, if not done by our own Government.

The committee, upon this view of the results of the last expedition of Mr. Fremont, deem them of great national importance, giving just ideas of Oregon and California, and such as ought to be published in the manner suggested in the reso

The continuation of the surveys and explorations by Mr. Fremont, with a view to complete our knowledge of the great country between the Mississippi and the Pacific ocean, is the ng inquiry referred to this committee, and of the expe providing for such continuation they entertain no doubt. It is, in their judgment, but carrying out the plain suggestion of reason and the plan of Mr. Jefferson, when he

ent Lewis and Clarke to the Pacific ocean.

Reason tells a nation, as it does an individual, that when it has acquired a new and distant possession, the first thing to be done is to learn its value and the means of getting to it. The instructions of Mr. Jefferson to Lewis and Clarke, drawn heads, in relation to Oregon; they now become still more important in relation to Oregon and California united, and the intervening region of the Rocky Mountains, which lies as a barrier to be crossed or turned between those territories and

the valley of the Mississippi.

as an indisputable position that the public interest and the wishes of the people require further examinations into the character of the soil, climate, and productions; the geology, botany, and mineralogy of Oregon and California; and also into the practicability of railroad and other communications between those countries and the valley of the Mississippi, to which the public attention has been lately, and is now, so ed; and they do not hesitate to say that Mr. Fremont is one of the most, if not the most, suitable person to make these examinations, and a publication of the results, under the direction of Congress, and without copyright, as the most judicious and advantageous mode of publication. Mr. Fremont has spent six years of his life in explorations to these distant regions, and in that time has crossed the Rocky Mountains, as the committee are informed, at seven different points; has traversed the country from the Mississippi to the Pacific ocean on several different lines, and has made about twenty thousand miles of explorations in wilderness countries, and s thoroughly, there is no doubt, the general structure and configuration of the country, and knows where to go and what to do to complete his examinations. He has shown himself to be possessed of all the qualifications for such an enterprise, with resources to supply wants, to con-quer difficulties, and to command success; and talent to exe-cute his task to the satisfaction and admiration of his own countrymen and of the first men of Europe.

The committee learn with pleasure that it is Mr. Fremont's

own desire to finish up the great work in which he was so un-expectedly interrupted in the course of the last year. No other person probably could, for the reasons stated, do the No other person could be employed in the work without ap-propriating to himself the fruits of his long and arduous labors, and building upon foundations which he has laid, and taking the credit of operations which only want the finishing hand of their author to exect a monument of honor to himself and of utility to his country. It therefore seems but an act of justice to this individual that he should be continued in a work which he commenced, and has thus far so successfully prosecuted. In his geographical memoir, printed by order of the Senate. Mr. Fremont proposes to continue and complete his explora-tions in Oregon and California, and to publish the results, under the direction of Congress, as a national work, and with-out copyright. It is the mode in which the results of his preout copyright. It is the mode in which the results of his pre-vious expeditions have been published, and with great advan-tage to the public, as all will acknowledge, his journals and maps being immediately reprinted and multiplied in cheap editions, as well in Europe as in this country; and thus all his discoveries, and all the information he acquired, passing at once into the mass of general knowledge. It is deemed by the committee the proper mode of disseminating useful infor-mation obtained at the expense of the Government, and which should be diffused at once without the impediment of copy-rights, and the author, where deserving it, compensated in rights, and the author, where deserving it, compensated in some other form for any extraordinary service which he has

The policy and expediency of ascertaining the value of new and distant acquisitions was early felt and enforced by our Government. It commenced with the acquisition of Louisiana. The expedition of Lewis and Clarke was the offspring that college. The contemporaneous expedition of Major The policy and expediency of ascertaining the value of our of that policy. The contemporaneous expedition of Major Freeman, on the Red river, and of Lieut. Pike to the source of the Mississippi, were parts of the same policy. Mr. Jefof the Mississippi, were parts of the annual appropriations ferson, at the same time, recommended annual appropriations for the purpose of continuing geographical researches in Louisians. In the years 1804 and 1806, during his Presidency, ander the recommendation of that illustrious friend an patron of science, reports were made by committees of the House of Representatives in favor of the annual appropriations for explorations, but they did not ripen into laws. At a later date, and but recently, provision has been made for promoting geological discoveries on the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior, with a view to understand the value of the public lands patron of science, reports were made by committees of the geological discoveries on the Upper Mississippi and Lake Su-perior, with a view to understand the value of the public lands there situate; and the sum of forty thousand dollars is inserted in the general appropriation bill of the present session to de-fray the expenses of the present year of that survey.

The committee do but advert to the large expenditure for explorations upon the water to distant islands of the ocean, gathering in its progress rich spoils to add to the treasury of science, and opening to the knowledge of our country all that ience, and opening to the knowledge of our country remarkable in the enimal, vegetable, and mineral ki of countries whose resources our enterprise has mainly contri-buted to unfold to the world.

These distant but interesting countries are not our own, and are not to be settled and cultivated by our race, and if it was good policy to traverse the deep to visit them, and to publish the results of the hazardous exploit as a national work, the committee cannot hesitate to believe that the policy of the explorations proposed to be followed by their publication as a na-tional work, the development of the resources of a country soon to be filled by people of our own lineage, is much more apparent, and com

pprobation.

The committee, therefore, feeling all the reasons in favor of such explorations to be greatly increased by the recent acqui sition of California, and the exclusive possession of Gregon, and when so much has already been done towards exploring them, deem it expedient that further provision be made for ex ploring Oregon and California, and ascertaining practical routes for a railroad or other communications between the va-ley of the Mississippi and the Pacific Ocean, and for publish gress and without copyright; and they have with one a cord directed their chairman to move the necessary appropriation, to wit, \$30,000, being the amount usually appropriat for topographical surveys beyond the Mississippi

L-Extract from a letter from the Hon. Edward Exercit to Senator Benton.

"Cambridge, (Mass.) March 20, 1846. "DEAR SIR: A short time since, I sent two copies of the Congressional documents containing Capt. Fremont's two re-ports to London; one to Dr. Holland (who spoke of you with great Lindness on his return to Boston) and one to Sir R. J. Murchison, late president both of the Geological and Geographica' societies, and one of the most eminent British geo gists. In a letter received from the last-named gentleman, b the steamer of the 4th March, he speaks in the following mar ner of Capt. Fremont's report: 'The work of Capt. Fremont to deeply interested me (it is really the most romantic as well as instructive survey) that I wice out a little analysis of it for the president of our geological society, Mr. Horner, and it he has not space enough to do it justice in his anniversary dis-course, I will take care that the excellent services of your coun-tryman are duly noticed in the speech of Lord Colchester, my successor as President of the Royal Geographical Society. Knowing your connexion with Capt. Fremont, I have thought it might be some satisfaction to you to learn that his labors were appreciated by good judges abroad. I should long since have made him my personal acknowledgments for the gratification and instruction which I have derived from his reports, had I had the honor of his acquaintance. I should have sent more copies to England could I have procused them."

B .- Extract from a letter from Dr. Leiber, of Columbia

" You recollect that last year I sent Colonei Fremont's re or, &c. to Europe. My son, who is now studying mining in Europe, to prepare himself for your West, and to aid, one of these days, in the development of the mineral wealth of our country, lately wrote me that the papers I sent had been studied with the deepest interest by the mineralogists and geologists in Berlin, to whom Baron Humboldt had communicated nem, after a careful perusal by himself.

.- Extract from a letter from the United States Consu Warren, Trieste, to Senator Benton.

"I travelled, not as I first intended, over Hamburg and Berlin to this city, but took a passage to Leghorn, from which place I proceeded to Trieste. I availed myself of a favorable ity to forward the books which you entrusted to m are to Baron Von Humboldt. During the month of July obtained a short leave of absence from my post, and proceed-ed to the north of Germany. Whilst at Berlin I had an in-terview with Baron Von Humboldt. He bade me thank you for the present with which you had favored him. He had already in his possession "Fremont's report," but not Nicollet's work. He put some questions to me in relation to your self, your political career, your age, and so forth, to which I gave full replies. He then inquired in relation to Colonel Frement, whose work he said had been read by him with great interest, as the work of "a man of talent, courage, in-dustry, and enterprise." These were the words literally used stry, and enterprise."
Mr. Von Humboldt.

"Extracts from the report have made their appearance in many of the German papers, and the scientific work (through the republication of the work by Wiley & Putnam, in London) has become generally acquainted with it; and I can say truly, from the conversation which I have had upon the subject with many men entitled to a judgment, it is appre-

D .- Extract from a letter from Dr. John Torrey, of Prince-

" After incessant working on the Californian plants, from the time they were received till this moment, I have secured all that were not decomposed, and have the entire collection in clean dry paper. The loss of one or two boxes, and the par-tial injury of some others, we can well bear, when the rest are so valuable. Of those that were spoiled I trust there were duplicates of the greater part in the rest of the herbarium.

No doubt there are many new species among your discoveries. The pines are well represented, and most of them can be drawn so as to show all the essential parts. As soon as I get Captain Wilkes's plants off my hands, I shall attack these with vigor. How much I regret not having a botanical artist at my elbow, as my friend Dr. Grey has. tor has undertaken the great bulk of the exploring expedition botany, he will, I fear, need the whole of Mr. Sprague's (his

artist's) time.
"The only way to have our work properly executed is, either to import an artist (and one could be got at a very moderate salary) or to send the specimens, from time to time, to Europe, where they might be drawn and put at once upon the stone."

"Please let me know what I am to do about drawings of

"Please let me know what I am to do about drawings of your new and rare plants. They ought to be put in hand soon, as it will take a long time to get them properly done. At any rate, I will send a few to France immediately, and have them drawn under the eye of Professors Jussien and Decaisne. We can then find exactly what they will cost. Do you not think that the forest trees ought to be done in a style and size with Michaux's Sylva? A supplementary volume, or distinct work rather, on the trees of California and Oregon, would be a most acceptable gift, not only to between

Oregon, would be a most acceptable gift, not only to botanists, but to men of taste and lovers of nature generally.

"Was I right in supposing the Taxodium sempervirens to be your great cedar." The Thuya does not grow to the convenient size that you mention, but the Taxodium sempervirens What a pity there was not time to get a figure of it ready for

E.—Extract from the report of a committee of the House of Representatives, March 8, 1804, of which Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell was chairman, on the resolve of the House, directing them to inquire into the expediency of authori-zing the President of the United States to cause certain re-

zing the President of the United States to cause certain remote and unknown points of Louisiana to be explored.

"By a series of remarkable events, the United States have
lately acquired a large addition of soil and jurisdiction. This
is believed, besides the tracts on the east side of the Mississippi, to include all the country which lies on the westward,
between that river and the great chain of mountains that
stretch from north to south, and divide the waters running into
the Atlantic from those which empty into the Pacific ocean;
and beyond that chain, between the territories claimed by and beyond that chain, between the territories claimed by Great Britain on one side and by Spain on the other, quite t the South Sea. It is highly desirable that this extensive re gion should be visited, in some parts at least, by intelligent men. Important additions might thereby be made to the sci-ence of geography. Various materials might thence be de-rived to augment our knowledge of natural history. The Government would thence acquire correct information of the situation, extent, and worth of its own dominions; and indi-viduals of research and curiosity would receive ample gratifividuals of research and curiosity would receive ample gratifi-cation, as to the works of art and the productions of nature,

which exist in those boundless tracts. * Mr. Lvall's father-in-law.

WHAT IS THE MODE OF TREATMENT best adapted to the cure of Fever and Ague! It has usually been treated by medical men as a disease of itself. Strictly speaking, it is not a disease, but a symptom of disease. It is the result of derangement of the liver. Here lies the difficulty, and here is the disease. It is therefore the liver to which the remedy should be directed. Here the cause exists, and it is the cure which the remedy should be directed. which the remedy should be directed. Here the cause exists, and it is the cause which is to be removed, or a permacent cure will not be effected. By addressing remedies to the symptom we leave the cause untouched, ready to produce a return of the chills and faver on the first over-exertion of the mind or body. The success of Dr. Osgood's INDIA CHOLAGOGUE in effecting permanent cures of such affections is explained by its well-known deobstruent effect upon the biliary organs.

The above excellent medicine may be found at the stores of CHAS. STOTT & CO., Washington, JOHN L. KIDWELL, Georgetown, WM. STABLER & BROTHER, Alexandria, Virginia,

SPANISH DICTIONARIES.—Neuman and Barreti's Spanish and English Dictionary, 2 vols. octavo. The same, abridged, complete in one volume. Cubi's Spanish and English Dictionary, 2 vols. Meadows's Spanish and English Dictionary, 1 vol., Loudon. Dictionnaire Espagnol Francais et Francais Espagnol, par M. Nunez de Taboada, 2 volumes, et Francais Espagnol, par M. Nunez de Taboada, 2 volumes, Paris. And a variety of Phrase and Conversation Books, Exercises, easy reading books in Spanish, in Spanish and English, and in Spanish and French, for students of the language. Also, a small collection of the more oelebrated Spanish au-

WASHINGTON.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 5, 1848.

THE MEXICAN WAR.—THE LUST OF CONQUEST

THE CAMPAIGN, No. IV.

-THE ONE-MAN POWER We come now to the Mexican War, that measure, or rather that series of measures of the present Administration which has been selected by the Baltimore Convention for special eulogy and felicitation, in a resolution which the Democratic Candidate for the Presidency might well approve, and adhere to, as he has done, having been himself art and part of the whole of that which it so highly applauds. The resolution of the Convention o this subject affirms that the war was just and necessary on our part; that it was provoked on the part of Mexico by years of insult and injury, and was commenced by her army crossing the Rio Grande December, 1845, in the following assertion : and invading our sister State of Texas. When the resolutions of the Convention were passed, the Treaty of Peace with Mexico was yet in suspense: of which suspense the Convention availed itself to resolve that, whilst the ratification of the Treaty emained in doubt, it was the duty of the country to sustain the Administration in every measure neces sary for the vigorous prosecution of the war, into we suppose, " the vitals of the enemy's country;" that being the declared purpose of the President, should Congress give him the means; in which purpose he was so zealously seconded and sustained in the Senate by Gen. Case, that, if he did no succeed in getting into "the vitals" of the enemy. t was through no scruple or backwardness of the

Among the new party issues which enter inte the present canvass, we could imagine none to be combated with more cheerful and hearty will than those which the Convention has thus presented to us, viz. the constitutionality of a war made without the assent of Congress; the necessity of a war upon a ground (of disputed boundary, the only plausible pretence for the war) which the President had been instructed by Congress to consider a subject of negotiation; the justice of a war, itself wholly unnecessary, upon a weak neighbor who was all the while remonstrating, deprecating and protesting against war; the lust of conquest, of annexation, of robbery by right of the strongest, which was the stimulant to the war; the false and contradictory pretences upon which it was undertaken first, and afterwards prosecuted; and the successive usurpations of power by the President which have marked the progress of the war, from the beginning to the end of it. Where else might we look in modern history for such a compound of all that is unlawful, vicious, and odious, as is the history of this war?

After the very full discussion of the subject in our own columns, and the many able and luminous expositions of the origin, objects, and merits of that War which have been made by our most eminent and able citizens, it is no part of our purpose now to repeat the story of its chronology and its events. They are all familiar to our readers. Thank God! the war is over; and there is no need now to recapitulate its follies, its falsities, and its crimes against humanity and the laws, as we have heretofore done when endeavoring to arouse the public mind to the ecessity of putting a stop to it. We need not, for example, inform our readers that the War was begun by the President's marching our army into a territory to which we had not a color of title; a territory in his correspondence with Mr. SLIDELL, down to Mr. Donelson, in his correspondence TAYLOR: That, therefore, the assertion upon which the intervention of Congress was sought and obtained by the President, and which has so often been repeated in papers bearing the signature of the Executive, that "American blood had been shed upon American soil." was a mere figment of the imagination, and had no truth in it: That, after the first shock of arms at the Rio del Norte, in which the enemy was driven with defeat and rout from our pretended boundary, there was neither necessity nor justification, for any avowed purpose, for the invaion of Mexico with fire and sword which ensued: That the object of that invasion, as it was of the orders issued twelve months before to our naval nobody but himself, unless possibly his official adduce him to betray his country, and the effect of boundary to the Rio Grande, (or Del Norte :) which was to place him at the head of the Mexican

armies, with consequences known to every one: . The consequences are well known to our readers to have been the re-invigoration of the military power of Mexico to such an extent that armies of surprising force were brought into the field, which nothing but the great Generalship of our Commanders and the irresistible Gallantry of the mass of the Army and Volunteers could ever have overcome. What the calculations were, we can only infer from such disclosures as the following, by persons in the interest of the Government, mmediately after the battle of Cerro Gordo :

CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PUBLIC LEDGER.

"Washington, Max 13, 1847.
"With the defeat of Santa Anna my hope of peace is considerably diminished; for, however strongly the Opposition press may have railed against what it was pleased to call the passport granted to that chief,' certain it is that our best hopes of peace rested on him, and that nothing but the impossibility of sustaining himself in Mexico has thus far baffled his efforts to make the Congress agree to the proposition

of our Government to send commissioners.

"The tone of his warlike despatches was, from the commencement, forced upon him by the circumstances in which he was placed, and PERFECTLY UNDERSTOOD HERE BY THE PRESIDENT AND HIS CARINET. Santa Anna's only hope of success consisted in first satisfying the national vanity of his countrymen, or availing himself of some lucky accident to turn for a moment the fortunes of war, and to improve that moment for concluding a peace. He came very near such a chance at Buena Vista, but the battle of Cerro Gordo has put an end to his prospects, and, with them, our calculations of peace from that quarter."

unmitigated odium, the war was at length brought to a close, without accomplishing either of its professed objects, indemnity for the past or security for the future, but leaving the nation burdened with a large public debt, and with a yet greater incumbrance in acquired territory, bought at double its value, and which has already, in its distraction of the Public Counsels, proved a dire " plague to the inventor."

We forbear these topics, therefore, with the exception of a single point, which is yet pertinaciously made the subject of argument before the People. We refer of course to the main pointthe question, what was the rightful boundary of Texas when annexed to the United States? We refer to that question the more particularly, inas much as the President has, in a late Message, laid down yet more extraordinary principles regarding it than even he had before advanced. The foundation of the war with Mexico was laid-six months. however, after the preparation for it began, by the President-in his first Message to Congress, in

" The jurisdiction of the United States, which at the formation of the Federal Constitution was bounded by the St. Mary's on the Atlantic, has passed the Capes of Florida, and [by the annexation of Texas | been peacefully extended to the

This declaration was in the teeth of the act of annexation itself, (the Joint Resolution,) passed March 1, 1845, which runs as follows:

" 1st. That the Congress doth consent that the Territory properly included in and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas, may be erected into a new State to be called the State of Texas," &c.

" 2. That the foregoing consent of Congress is given upon the following conditions, and with the following guaranties, viz. Said State to be formed. subject to the adjustment by this Government of all questions of Boundary that may arise with other Governments," [meaning of course Mexico, the only conterminous Government.]

Here is the most clear and unequivocal declaration, by Congress, that Texas was to be annexed only with the rightful boundary, and only on condition that any question on that subject was to be the subject of adjustment by this Government with Mexico. What sort of adjustment? Was it to be adjusted by force; by marching an army into the State of Tamaulipas, a State as distinct from the State of Texas as the State of Pennsylvania is from that of New York? How absurd, how destitute even of plausibility is not such a pretension! The President knew, therefore, when he provoked a war by this declaration, and when, Mexico not having resented it, he marched an army into her territory, that he was courting war with Mexico inless she ignominiously slunk from the defence of ner own soil. In defence of this declaration it has been again and again said by the President, that Texas had, by an act of her Congress, declared her territory to extend to the Del Norte. But Congress, when it passed the act of annexation, knew this as well as the President, and it laid down the law for his overnment, that Texas was to bring into this Union only the territory "properly included" within her limits, and that what was so included was to be settled, not by her declaration, which could give her no right, but by negotiation between the United States and Mexico. That such was known to the President to be the intention of Congress, and that the President himself had no real confidence in the pretended title acquired from Texas to the Rio Grande, is fully established by facts brought to light n which Mr. Secretary Buchanan wrote to that

gentleman, then our Minister in Mexico, as follows : Mexico. You are therefore authorized to offer our citizens against Mexico, and, in addition, to ay five millions of dollars, in case THE MEXICAL GOVERNMENT SHALL AGREE TO establish the boundary of the two countries from the mouth of the Rio Grande up the principal stream to the point where it touches the line of New Mexico; thence west of the river along the exterior line of that province, and so as to include the whole within he United States, until it again intersects the river; thence up the principal stream of the same to its source, and thence due north until it intersects the forty-second degree of north latitude."

Independently of this testimony by the Adminisration itself, the President knew that the claim by Texas, from whom it was alleged that we derived title to the territory between the Nueces and the Rio Grande, was good for nothing; a claim which Commanders and the Commanders of our land ex- it was disreputable to any gentleman who had ever peditions on the Northwest Coast and Territory, studied law (as the President and every member of and of the Mission of Mr. SLIDELL, was to wrest his Cabinet had) to set up even by way of arguby force of arms from Mexico certain territories ment. The act of Texas which claims the Rio which the President had set his heart upon obtain- Grande as a boundary was no more than the exing-why or wherefore, understood to this day by pression of its wishes; and, as regards right, was the merest nullity. Every man of common sense visers: That, entertaining these designs, whether knows that he can acquire no title to his neighbor's his plans embraced at first the conquest of all Mex- plantation by pretending to own it. Nobody knew ico, or only the acquisition of the Provinces which better the worthlessness of this claim than Texas herit has unhappily saddled us with, the President did, self; for which conclusion we have even better aubefore there could have been any pretence of Mexican invasion to repel and of American blood to be People. The late lamented Senator ASHLEY, of avenged, privily, and without the consent, or even Arkansas, in a Speech in favor of the Joint Resoluthe suspicion of Congress, enter into a negotiation tion of Annexation (of which he was an ardent adwith Santa Anna, the exiled chief of Mexico, the vocate) on the 22d day of February, 1845, placed only object of which could but have been to in- on record the following history of that claim of

" The present boundaries of Texas, as I learn from Judge ELLIS, the President of the Convention Member of the first Legislature under that Constitution, were fixed as they now are solely and professedly with a view of having a large margin in the negotiation with Mexico, and Nor with the expectation of retaining them as they now exist on their statute-book."

With such evidence as this before them, as was justly remarked by Mr. GALLATIN, in his treatise on the subject, the iniquity of acquiring any portion of this territory otherwise than by fair compact, freely consented to by Mexico, is self-evident. It could not but be as evident to Mr. Polk, as a lawyer. if not as a statesman, as it was to Mr. GALLATIN, or any other person. Yet, what language did he hold in regard to Mexico, when she declined to receive a Minister instructed to get possession from her of other territories, instead of settling the boundary of that already annexed? "Why, in Mr. BUCHANAN's letter of January 28, 1846, to Mr. SLIDELL-our Army being then under orders to march to the Rio Grande—the following:

"Should the Mexican Government finally refus to receive you, the cup of forbearance will then the Territory therefore was, in the very have been exhausted; nothing can remain but to General Cass, "a clear act of war."

And so repeats, following this instruction, Mr. SLIDELL, in his letter of the 17th of March follow-

ing, to the Mexican Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The question has now reached a point where words must give place to acts. While he [Mr. S.] deeply regrets a result so little contemplated when commenced the duties of his mission of peace, he is consoled by the reflection that no honorable efforts to avert THE CALAMITIES OF WAR have been spared by his Government, and that those efforts cannot

Here, certainly, is a formal denunciation of WAR cases, an appeal to the world, to bear witness that Mexico, the opposite party, has left to the United States no other alternative. War, therefore, was intended by the Executive. Nav, it had already been begun. The Army of the United States was, at the date of this letter, already so far on its march to Matamoros, that on the seventh day thereafter (March 24) it arrived at Point Isabel, the Mexican authorities setting fire to their custom-house and flying before it, and on the 11th day thereafter the Army actually sat down before Matamoros: the Mexican authorities, all the while, so far from making any demonstrations of war, that the President of the Republic of Mexico, (PAREDES,) on

" I soleunly announce that I do not declare war against the Government of the United States of America, because it belongs to the august Congress of the Nation, and not the Executive, to resolve definitely what reparation should be exacted for such offences. But the defence of the Mexican territory, which the forces of the United States have invaded, is an urgent necessity, and my responsibility to the nation would be immense, should I fail troops, which thus act as enemies, to be repelled, and I have therefore given that order. From this day begins our de-

Whether the United States had or had not a just claim to the territory between the Nueces and the ritory was an act of war.

"Whenever," says Mr. GALLATIN, "a territory claimed by two Powers is and has been for a length of time in the possession of one of them, if the other invade and take possession of it by a miliaccording to the acknowledged practical law of

of the United States, nor by the war-making power but is that which is capable of absorbing with imin that Government, but by the President of the punity the powers of all other departments of the United States, without any sort of authority-out of Government; that the Presidency is, in fact, a ONEhis own mere will, and to accomplish designs not MAN POWER, in comparison with which the power only not sanctioned by the Government proper, but of the Monarch of England is but the shadow of in defiance of a positive act of Congress forbidding a shade. these his hostile proceedings.

when he asked for the means of penetrating fur- the power which its President takes upon himself. ther into the vitals of Mexico, reiterated, nearly is seen in a British act of Parliament which we twenty times, in one form or other, that the war lately met with, (the "Articles of War" for 1846,) was begun by the act of Mexico. He said in that annually re-enacted. The Preamble of this act is Message, for example, that "she struck the first in the following words: blow ;" that " she invaded the Territory of Texas ;" by the late publication of the SLIBELL instructions, that "she shed the blood of American citizens on our own soil;" that she committed "unjustifiable and unprovoked hostilities;" that their [the Mexi-"The President desires to deal liberally by cans' faithless Government has commenced hostilities," &c. The falsity of all this is abundantly esto assume the payment of all the just claims of tablished by the foregoing brief narrative of the facts and law of

The war was indeed a war of false pretences from beginning to end, as we have heretofore abundantly proved, and shall not go through the unneessary task of proving again. We should not have touched even the single point of who was the aggressor in this war, but for the fact that, instead f showing any contrition for the injuries which he has been the prime cause of inflicting on his own country, the President, in his Message announcing the ratification of the Treaty of Peace, renewing the strain of his former Messages to Congress, has poken of the war just closed as a war "in which our country was reluctantly involved in the necessary vindication of the National rights and

There is a yet later Message of the President to Congress which provokes and demands a few remarks. We refer to that in which he seeks profection, for his repeated usurpations of Legislative power during the war, behind the post which the Constitution gives him of Commander-in-chief of the Army and Navy of the United States. We have heretofore demonstrated the utter incompatibility of that claim with the intention and even the positive prescriptions of the Constitution, which expressly assigns to the Legislative branch of the Government the whole class of powers which he undertakes to derive prerogatively from his function of Commander-in-chief, &c. Because in a Monarchy, the Commander-in-chief, who is the King, possesses and exercises these powers, it is argued that he, the President, has the same powers, though the Constitution has expressly given these powers to Congress! Was ever such an absurdity? If that formed the Constitution of Texas, and also a the President has yet to learn, we trust that Congress will teach him that the President possesses no power but what the Constitution gives him; that he can derive no substantial power by analogy from other Governments. His predecessor and

* Upon that point we are able to produce the authority of General Cass himself. In the warmth of his zeal to defend the President for having involved the country in war, in the Debate on the 12th of May, 1846, and endeavoring to throw the responsibility upon Mexico, he stripped this point of all possible doubt, as the following quotation from his Speech

"I have no doubt but the boundary of Texas goes to Rio del Norte. But I do not place the justification of our Government upon any question of title. Granting that the Mexicans have a claim to that country as well as we, still Mexicans have a claim to that country as well as we, still the nature of the aggression is not changed. We were in the possession—a possession obtained without conflict—and we could not be divested of this possession but by our own consent or by an act of war. The ultimate claim to the country was a question for diplomatic adjustment. Till that took place, the possessory right was in us; and any attempt to dislodge us tous a clear act or war."

Now, as we have shown. We were not in poss Mexico was, as is proved by the fact of her people and cus-tom-house officers flying before our troops. Our invasion of the Territory therefore was, in the very explicit language of

That, after a succession of military exploits, take the redress of the injuries to our Govern-patron Gen. Jackson undertook so to derive authorithe brilliancy of which alone redeems this war from ment, and the insults to our citizens, into our ty to himself. But even he, then in the zenith of own hands." his popularity, and who feared nothing in human shape, being promptly rebuked in Congress for preferring this claim to prerogative power, quailed before the burst of excited feeling which he had provoked, and acknowledged his error by a special message to the Senate, in which he endeavored to explain it away."

The space allotted to this article does not allow usto enter again into the particulars of the usurpations to which we refer, or to re-argue the constitufail to be properly appreciated, not only by the People of the United States, but by the world." tional question. We relinquish that task the more readily, since it is now, as our readers may have learnt from the speeches on the subject, (published against Mexico, and, according to usage in such a few days ago,) in excellent hands in the House of the People.

The patience with which Congress, as well as the People, have borne with the misdeeds of the Administration, its extravagant pretensions, and its measures, entirely in character with its pretensions. furnishes matter for curious speculation. It affords, certainly, a very pregnant commentary upon the difference between theory and practice in government. In the framing of our own Government, and in the Debates upon it in the State Conventions, the apprehensions of many of the most eminent statesmen seem to have been that the Executive would be the feeblest branch of the Government; that the President would be too much controlled the departure of Mr. SLIDELL, issued a Proclama- in the exercise of even his expressly granted tion declaring that, until the National Congress powers by the Legislative authority; that as to his should have considered the question, no act of ag- strictly Executive power he would be a mere tool gression would be committed against the United in the hands of the Senate; and that the Executive States by Mexico. Neither, after our armies had would in fact be constantly liable to encroachment. invaded her territory, did Mexico declare war, as upon its authority by both branches of Congress: appears by the following from a subsequent Proto protect the President from which the qualified veto power was specially given to him. Comparparing his powers with those of the British Executive (the King) the writers and orators of that day maintained that our PRESIDENT would hardly have any power at all, and it was perfectly nonsensical to compare the two offices together. The President, they said, had no power to create nobles, and no patronage to speak of. The President, they further said, was, indeed, to be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States; that in this respect his authority would, it was true, be nominally the same with that of the King of Great Britain, but in substance much inferior to it, &c., for Rio Grande, the march of our Army into that ter- that the power of the British King extended, among other attributes, to the making of war and to the raising and regulating of fleets and armies," all which, they argued, "by the Constitution would appertain to the Legislature." Notwithstanding which arguments, seriously and honestly preferred, tary force, such an act is an act of open hostility it turns out that the Executive in this Government, under the present Administration, as endured by both the People and their Representatives, is not This war, then, was begun, not by the authority only the strongest department of the Government,

An illustration of this difference between the the-Notwithstanding all this, the President, as re- ory of the British Monarchy and the actual power cently as in his last annual Message to Congress, of its head, and between that of our Republic and

"Whereas the raising or keeping a Standing Army, within the United Kingdon of Great Britain and Ireland, in time of peace, unless it be with the consent of Parliament, is against law," &c.

* The SENATE of the United States having, on the 25th of March, 1834, passed a Resolution that the PRESIDENT, in undertaking, in the recess of Congress, to remove the public "assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and Laws," President Jackson transmitted to the Senate, on the 17th of the following month, an elaborate "Protest," in the course of which he advanced the following extraordinary pretension, besides several others

"The custody of the public property, under such regula-tions as may be prescribed by legislative authority, has al-ways been considered an appropriate function of the Exe-cutive department, in this and all other Governments. In

tions as may be prescribed by legislative authority, has always been considered an appropriate function of the Executive department, in this and all other Governments. In accordance with this principle, every species of property belonging to the United States (excepting that which is in the use of the several co ordinate departments of the Government, as means to aid them in performing their appropriate functions) is in charge of officers appointed by the President, whether it be lands, or buildings, or merchandise, or provisions, or clothing, or arms and munitions of war. The superintendents and keepers of the whole are appointed by the President, responsible to him, and removable at his will. "Public money is but a species of public property. It cannot be raised by taxation or custom, nor brought into the Treasury in any other way except by law; but, whenever or howeover obtained, its custody always has been, and always must be, unless the constitution be changed, entrusted to the Executive department. No officer can be created by Congress for the purpose of taking charge of it, whose appointment would not, by the constitution, at once devolve on the President, and who would not be responsible to him for the faithful performance of his duties. The Legislative power may undoubtedly bind him and the President by any laws they may think proper to enact; they may prescribe in what place particular portions of the public money shall be kept, and for what reason it shall be removed; as they may direct that supplies for the army or navy shall be kept in particular stores; and it will be the duty of the President to see that the law is faithfully executed; yet will the custody remain in the Executive department of the Government. Were the Congress to assume, with or without a legislative act, the power of appointing officers, independently of the President, to take the charge and custody of the public property contained in the military and naval arseenale, magniness, and storehouses, it is believed that such an act w

On the 21st of the same month, learning from the debate in the Senate that just exceptions were taken to these pre-tensions, he addressed an explanatory Message to the Senate, from which the following passages are copied :

from which the following passages are copied:

"Having reason to believe that certain passages contained in my message and protest transmitted to the Senate on the 17th instant may be misunderstood, I think it proper to state that it was not my intention to deny, in the said message, the power and right of the Legislative department to provide by law for the custody, safe-keeping, and disposition of the public money and property of the United States."

"I admit, without reserve, as I have before done, the censtitutional power of the Legislature to prescribe, by law, the place or places in which the public money or other property is to be deposited, and to make such regulations concerning its custody, removal, or disposition as they may think proper to enact. Nor do I claim for the Executive any right to the possession or disposition of the public property or treasure, or any authority to interfere with the same, except when such possession, disposition, or authority is given to him by law. Nor do I claim the right in any manner to supervise or interfere with the person entrusted with such property or treasure, unless he be an officer whose appoint-